1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

The streets of Tenochtitlan were the canals bordered by footpaths, and frequent bridges allowed easy access to all parts of the town. Three great causeways led north, west and south to the mainland, touching it respectively at Tepeyac, now Guadalupe, Tlacopan, now Tacuba, and Coyoacan. Canals paralleled these main roadways where they entered the city proper, following them as far as their terminus at the main plaza. Two aqueducts also joined the city to the mainland. The one to Chapultepec seems to have been constructed exclusively to carry water and had two channels, so that when one was being cleaned or repaired the other could remain in use. The Coyoacan aqueduct, built later by Ahuitzotl, may well have followed the great southern causeway. The problem of sanitation must have been serious, but boats were tied up at strategic points for public use, and when filled their contents were sold to fertilize the fields. Pottery vessels were kept in the houses to preserve urine, which the Aztecs used as a mordant in dyeing cloth. Hence sunlight and these simple methods for getting fresh water and disposing of offal kept down the pestilence that beset the city in Spanish times when the ancient methods of sanitation were abandoned.[18]

A city so advantageously situated had no need of fortifications, and formal military architecture was rare. The temples, which dominated the city, were natural strong points; indeed, the hieroglyph for the capture of a town was the burning of a temple, an indignity to which no people would submit unless driven from this last rallying point.

The temples had stone or rubble walls surmounted by a high roof, the construction of which consisted of a cribwork of logs, either thatched with straw or covered with plaster.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

ing on such wonderful sights," wrote Bernal Diaz, "we did not know what to say or whether what appeared before us was real, for on one side in the land there were great cities and in the lake ever so many more, and the lake itself was crowded with canoes, and in the causeway were many bridges at intervals, and in front of us stood the great City of Mexico, and we . . . we did not even number four hundred soldiers."[2]

Although socially and governmentally Tenochtitlan was distinctly an American Indian tribal town, outwardly it appeared the capital city of an empire. A bird's-eye view would have revealed an oval island connected with the mainland by three causeways which converged at the center of the city. These roads were cut by waterways over which removable bridges extended. The edges of the island were fringed by the green of the "floating gardens," while at the center the shiny white of the houses predominated, and the verdure was reduced to tiny green squares in the patio gardens. Thrust above the quadrate masses of the roof tops loomed the various clan temples, each set on its platform in the form of a truncated pyramid. The city had few streets or open spaces but was gridded with canals crossed by portable bridges. The two principal plazas were those of the Temple of Tlaltelolco and of the religious center of Tenochtitlan proper, open spaces which gave a welcome relief from the pyramids and official palaces clustered about them. There must have been a curiously living quality about this grouping, the temples seeming to ride like horsemen among the serrated ranks of the houses. (See Plate 37, top.)

Were a visitor to traverse Tenochtitlan from south to north, he would have been struck by the rich variety of sights.

1:Vaillant A-5 (1928-1936)1941 NU7 Aztec NU7

174 ture writing to see that each subject town had fulfilled its
644 quota or else were calculating the share that should be turned over to the various clan stewards. Another patio presented a more animated scene. Here acrobats were practicing their feats and poor, warped dwarfs were composing grosser contortions to win a chiefly smile. In another set of buildings
[367] was housed the zoo, where serpents undulated sluggishly and where, from behind wooden bars, peered the greedy, yellow eyes of jaguars and ocelots. In a side room a human arm projecting from a basket of raw meat showed how the bodies of some sacrificial victims were utilized.

491 The highway to Tlaltelolco extended north from this great
517 plaza, which even today is the center of the city. This wide
174 road, with a canal beside it, was filled with the same indecisive multitude that thronged the southern artery. The setting sun had brought people out on their roof tops. Some leaned over parapets to watch the crowd below, while idlers, squatting in a shaded bit of the street, took equal interest in the slow movements of the householders above them.

868 A path and a canal, debouching into the main avenue, led
174 to a small square, in the center of which loomed a pyramid. From the patio of an adjacent building shrill cries arose and the dull clash of wooden instruments. Within, a number of boys were receiving instruction in the manual of arms. Each equipped with a small buckler and a flat wooden club, they learned the art of cut and parry under the scornful eye of a warrior. They dealt and received hard blows, but the clubs were not toothed with wedges of obsidian, the volcanic glass that made hand-to-hand combat so vicious in war. Another group was practicing with the *atl-atl*, or throwing stick. The marksman laid his spear along a narrow wooden trough with

7: Sahagún M-5 (1529-1590) 1955 NU7 Astec NU7

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VALLEY OF MEXICO

[p. XV]

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TENOCHTITLAN-TLATILULCO

[p. xvii]

[p. xviii is blank]

726 balls. Thereupon they shot iron bolts; but only one was pierced, in the forehead, wherefore he then died. Castañeda was the one who shot the arrow. And the chieftains moved in against him and they drove [the Spaniards] into the water, stoning them. And Castañeda there would have perished, but he clung to the boat and thus they carried him to Xocotitlan.

[349] And one boat lay at Tetenantepuxtco, where the walls curve.[7] And another boat lay there at To-
[491] tecen,[8] where the road goes direct to Tepetzinco.[9] It only lay on guard in the water, and at nightfall they took it [away].

And some days thereafter the Spaniards once again resolved [to war upon] us.[10] Then they came,
[443 317] and chose the Quauecatitlan[11] road which led direct to the salt market. But there on the Quauecatitlan road, they could not spread out. So all those of Tlaxcalla, Acolhuacan, and Chalco thereupon filled in the canals.[12] And on the road where they could not spread out, they cast adobes and roof beams; door lintels, pillars, and round logs were set in; they threw bundles of reeds into the water. And when it was filled in, then the Spaniards, disposed [in battle order], very slowly proceeded: a cotton banner led them; they went blowing trumpets and beating drums. And behind them went in position all the Tlaxcallans, and indeed all those of [other allied]
[533] cities. Those of Tlaxcalla became very brave; they shook their heads, beat their chests, and sang. The Mexicans also sang. There was chanting on both sides. They intoned whatsoever they remembered. Thus they were able to animate themselves.

And as they reached Tlalhuacan,[13] all the chieftains were crouched; they stretched themselves out very flat, and were well hidden. They hid their

ça ce inmjnoc ixquac, njman ic momjqujli: iehoatl in valtemj in castañeda. Auh in tiacaoã itech ietiquizque, atlan quinnemjtique, quinteteapachoque: auh vncã mjquizquja in castañeda: auh ça acaltitech pilcatia injc quivicaque xocotitlan.

Auh centetl acalli onoca tetenanteputxco, vncã in colivi tetenamjtl: auh in oc centetl acalli vmpa onoca in totecco: in jpan vtli tlamelaoa Tepetzinco, çan tlatlapixtoca in atlan. Auh in ie ioa quivica.

Auh iquezquilhujoc ie no ceppa techcentlatalhuj in Españoles: nec vitze, ie quioalmottilique in quavecatitlan vtli, in oallamelauhticac iztanamacoian. Auh in vncan in quauecatitlan in vtli ca moiauhque. Auh in jxquich tlaxcaltecatl, in aculhoacatl, in chalcatl: njman ie ic catzupa in acalutli: yoan in oca moiauhque vtli: contlaça in xamjtl, yoan in calquavitl, in tecoc in tlaixquatl in tlaquetzalli, in quimjmjlli, in acatl quicujtlalpia in contepeoa atlan. Auh in jquac in omotzop nec valmotema in Españoles, cencã ivian in iativitze, quiniacana in quachpanjtl, tlapiztivitze, tlatzotzontivitze. Auh imjcampa onotivitze in ie ixquich tlaxcaltecatl, yoan in ie ixquich altepeoa, cenca muchicava moquaquacuecuechoa, mectzotzona in tlaxcaltecã, cujca, no cujca in mexica necoccampa cujco, queoa in çaço tlein quijnamjquj, ic mellaquaoa muchioa.

Auh in oacico tlalhoacan in tiacaoã vel nepacholo, vel mopachoa vel netlatilo, quitetezontlaliaia, quichixtoque in quemman tecvitilos, in quenman quj-

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7. Corresponding Spanish text: *"cerca de aquella yglesia que se llama ahora buxia."* Cano (*op. cit.*) places it in la Casita de Peralvillo, *barrio* of Tolpetlacalco.

8. *"Cerca de la Casa, pueblo derrocado."* — Cano, *op. cit.*

9. El Pedrito de los Indios — east of the corner of Tamachiltitan, in the lake. However, Riquie and Barlow, *op. cit.*, p. 46 and map, locate it as a hill in the southeastern part of Tlatilulco.

10. Corresponding Spanish text: *"determinaron entre sí los españoles de darnos guerra por allí."*

11. Quauhcatitlan, suppose — *"calle que iba derecha de Mexicalcu al Mercado de la Ld. . . . prolongada hasta encontrar el Albarradón y probablemente correspondía con la Calzada de Nonoalco, Mercado, Almacenes, Carmelo y Buena."* — Cano, *op. cit.* Riquie and Barlow, *op. cit.*, show it in their map as in the northeast part of the city.

12. In Bustamante, *loc. cit.*, the version is somewhat different from what appears in either the Spanish or Nahuatl text of the Florentine Codex: *"por causa de los españoles que los indios habian muerto en su prisionia, tornaron á proponer guerra de nuevo, haciendo juramento solemne que la guerra no habia de cesar hasta que vengasen la muerte de sus hermanos los españoles, y no quedase hombre dellos que no muriese en su manos: de allí adelante acostumbraron á cegar todas las acequias y cavidas de aguas por donde pudiesen entrar los suyos donde los hirgentinos no pudiesen entrar, y así entraron á derrocar casas, y allanar todas las acequias."*

13. Corresponding Spanish text: *"en barrio que se llama Tlilmanco que es agora santa mjar"* (San Martin).

strong voice." Then they spoke to a seasoned warrior named Tlamayocatl, and then Mayeuatzin commanded and said to him: "Go forth and tell those of Cuitlauac: 'O men of Cuitlauac! Your ruler Mayeuatzin hath sent me! Behold him! There he standeth upon the small pyramid!'" And when those of Cuitlauac had heard him, they answered him: "Nay, ye have slain him!" Then he said unto them: "Nay, he is not dead! Look well upon him! There he now standeth!" And [Mayeuatzin] spoke forth: "I have not died. Let nothing injure my lip rod, my green stone [jewels], my devices!" And when he ended his speech, then a cry arose [among the Indians who were with Spaniards], whereupon there was fighting. Then they pursued [the Mexicans]. But in the market place, there at Copalnamacoyan, the battle, gradually abating, lasted long.

And once our foes of Tliliuhquitepec and Atetemollan* together conferred and took note of a narrow road which led between house clusters. It was the path of a nobleman named Tlacatzin. And when our foes had already entered, then the chieftains drove them forth. And a man, a chieftain and a seasoned warrior named Tlapanecatl, whose home was at Atezcapan, then engaged them. Our foes then quickly seized him. And the [Mexican] chieftains then rushed and went shooting arrows at our foes. Then they made [the enemy] loose the captured chieftain. But our foes then smote him in the calf of the leg, there where the leg is bleed. Then [the enemy] departed; the fighting ceased.

itoca: Tlamaiocatl: nec quimonaia in Maichoatzin: 726
quilhuja. Tla zenieuh, tla xiquimonjlhuj in cujtlauaca: Cujtlauacac, onechcaliva in amodatocauh in Maichoatzin, xocoiztacan nechca mopeuticac mumuoa. Auh in oquicaoque cujtlauaca, quivalitoque. Ca ameo, ca oanquimictique: nec quimonjlhuja. Ca ameo mjquj, vel, zocottacan ie in nechca icac: yoan quivalitoa, ca ameo njmjquj, ma ilia nechitlacalhujti, in notençac, in nochaichiuh, in notlaviz: auh in ococnonequjzti in jdatol, nec tlacaoaca: njman ie ic necalioa, nec quivalitoca. Auh in tianquizco in vmpa copalnamacoian, aiaxcan in mocauh, vncã vecaoac in iuiotl. [293]

Auh ceppa tecentlatalhujque in toiaovan in Tliliuhquitepeca, atetemolloque: ie quimottilique in vpitzactli in calla quiauicac, yiovi catca ce pilli: itoca, Tlacatzin. Auh in ie calaquj in toiaovan: nec quintoca in tiiacaoan. Auh ce tlacatl tiacauh, tequioa, itoca Tlapanecatl, atezcapã ichan catca: nec quioalnamjquj, njmã ic quicujtivetzque in toiaovan: auh in tiiacavan, njmã ipan onmotepeuhque, quinmjntivi in toiaovan: njmã ic conetlaçaltito in cacica tiiacauh. Auh in toiaovan nec quivalmeteivitecque: vncã in jneccaian: njman ic iaque, ômocacauhque in mjcali. [491]

* Corresponding Spanish text: "se repuso los enemjos de donde."

[p. 108 is blank]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Anecuilco (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are included in the province of Çihuatlan somewhat arbitrarily, in the interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava Monteçuma."[1] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[2] The river upon which it was situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[3] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[4] two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (e)[5] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

[1] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[2] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[3] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[4] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[5] *PNE*, 6: 155–159.

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
NU7 Aztec NU7

CHAPTER LXXXVI.

How we began our march to the City of Mexico, what happened to us on the road, and what Montezuma sent to say.

WE set out from Cholula in carefully arranged order as we were always accustomed to do, the mounted scouts examining the country ahead and some very active foot soldiers accompanying them, so that should they come to any bad ground or other obstacle they might help one another; then [followed] our cannon all ready for action, and the musketeers and crossbowmen, and then the horsemen in parties of three so that they could help one another, then all the rest of the soldiers in good order. I don't know why I call all this so clearly to mind, but when writing about war, one feels obliged to make mention of it, so that it can be seen how we marched always "with chin on shoulder." Marching in this way we arrived that day at some ranchos standing on a hill about four leagues from Cholula, they are peopled from Huexotzingo, and I think they are called the Ranchos of Yscalpan. To this place soon came the Caciques and priests of the towns of Huexotzingo which were near by, and they were friends and allies of the Tlaxcalans, and there also came people from other small towns, which stand on the slopes of the volcano near their boundary line, who brought us food and a present of golden jewels of small value, and they asked Cortés to accept them and not consider the insignificance of the gift but the good will with which it was offered. They advised him not to go to Mexico as it was a very strong city and full of warriors, where we should run much risk. They also told us to look out, if we had decided upon going, for when we had ascended to the pass we should find two broad roads, one leading to a town named Chalco, and the other to another

11:Diaz T,H-5 (1519-1520) 1910
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town called Tlamanalco,[1] both of them subject to Mexico; that the one road was well swept and cleared so as to induce us to take it, and that the other road had been closed up and many great pines and other trees had been cut down so that horses could not use it and we could not march along it. That a little way down the side of the mountain along the road that had been cleared, the Mexicans (thinking that we must take that road) had cut away a piece of the hill side, and had made ditches and barricades, and that certain squadrons of Mexicans had waited at that point so as to kill us there. So they counselled us not to go by the road which was clear, but by the road where the felled trees were, saying that they would send many men with us to clear it, and as the Tlascalans were also with us, between them they would clear away the trees, and they said that that road came out at Tlamanalco.

Cortés received their present very kindly and told them that he thanked them for the counsel they had given him, and that with God's help he would not abandon his march but would go the way they advised him. Early the next morning we began our march, and it was nearly midday when we arrived at the ridge of the mountain where we found the roads just as the people of Huexotzingo had said. There we rested a little and began to think about the Mexican squadrons on the intrenched hillside where the earth works were that they had told us about.

Then Cortés ordered the Ambassadors of the great Montezuma who came in our company to be summoned, and he asked them how it was that those two roads were

[1] Bernal Díaz seems to have gone wrong in his topography. At the gap between the two volcanoes the roads probably divided, one (to the right) going by way of Tlamanalco to Chalco, the other (more direct) going to Amecameca. The Spaniards probably took the more direct (the blocked up) road to Amecameca, and did not go to Tlamanalco at all. Cortés, in his second letter, says that he went to Amecameca, and does not mention Tlamanalco.

16:Bandelier E-4 (no date)1880 NU7 Aztec NU7

assistants at his disposal — runners — who not only accompanied the convoys of tribute, but through whom a regular communication might be kept up with the Mexican tribe. On the strength of this, it has been fancied that not only a road-system analogous to that of the Romans, pervaded the entire area of actual Mexico, but that a perfect postal system was in full and successful operation. In regard to the first assumption we beg to refer to the letter of the Licentiate Salmeron, dated Mexico, 13th August, 1531, and directed to the council of the Indies:[303] "I believe that all through the land roads should be opened which would be practicable both for beasts of burthen and for carts. It would greatly increase the security of our possessions. Since the Indians had no beasts of burthen, their paths were straight and narrow, and so direct that they would not deviate an inch in order to avoid climbing the most rugged mountains." Over these Indian trails, where occasionally heavy culverts of stone, filled up gaps and spanned narrow ravines,[304] the tribute was forwarded to the pueblo of Tenuchtitlan, and the necessary runners moved swiftly, to and fro, as occasion required. But there was no regularity in this intercourse. There were no relays, and the Indian messenger relied, in order to traverse the wide belts of waste lands between tribe and tribe, upon his own endurance and upon the bag of provisions which he carried along.[305]

On solemn occasions, the convoys of tribute were not merely escorted by runners and watchmen detailed for that purpose by the "calpixqui," but that officer, himself, accompanied them and entered Mexico-Tenuchtitlan at their head.[306] The articles were carried to the "Tecpan" and then the duties of the "chief of men" in regard to tribute in general ended. For this tribute was not due to him, but to the tribe, and it was the tribal representa-

[303] "*Second Recueil de Pièces sur le Mexique*" (H. Ternaux-Compans, pp. 191 and 192).

[304] The collection of Lord Kingsborough has, among others, the pictures of so-called bridges. Anyone can see at a glance that they are mere heavy culverts. *Mr. H. H. Bancroft* ("*Native Races*," Vol. IV, p. 388) figures a bridge at Huejutla, but his argument in favor of its being an aboriginal construction appears to me very unsatisfactory. The masonry covering the mound at Metlatoyuca shows, according to his own words (Id. p. 461): "there is no evidence that the arch was intentionally self-supporting."

[305] We must always discriminate between delegates, entrusted with certain business to transact, and therefore also clothed with a certain authority, and mere runners. ("Correos"—"Tolnhca tlhuetl" *Molina* I, p. 20, from "Icuhca"—quick and "tlhuetl"—he who goes on an errand, II, pp. 99 and 113). The latter are very well described by *Torquemada* (Lib. XIV, cap. I, pp. 535 and 536), although he presupposes relays at regular intervals. This was not the case, as the march of Cortés amply proves.

[306] "*Codice Ramirez*" (p. 62).